21: Simkin U-5 (no date) 1945 OU9 Tonga OU9



from rich, but it is free from the hardships of real poverty, the poisons of economic inequality, and the degradations of a proletariat.

On the cultural side the void created by the collapse of the old religious beliefs has been more than filled by Christianity and the missions have been tender of other aspects of Tongan culture. The traditional music and handicrafts have all been encouraged along with a pride in the past. New interests have been provided by church choirs, stringed instruments and brass bands, and by the introduction of European sports like cricket. Education in English, history and geography has opened up new intellectual horizons, even if rather slowly and to too limited an extent.

## Tonga's Future

If left alone to work out their future the Tongans can face it with hope and confidence. Much can be done to develop agriculture and to add new branches to it. Progress in this field holds out the hope, not only of better diet, larger real incomes, and a lessened dependence on foreign trade, but also the prospect of new vocational interests to enrich village and family life. Co-operative societies to spread agricultural knowledge, to market produce, and to operate equipment such as copra driers are already under way. New crops, animal husbandry and cotton weaving could all develop so as to give people more interesting lives as well as better standards of living. A new interest and activity is being shown in education, and real attempts are being made to develop it in the directions most needing reform. The new teachers' training college, in particular, should have valuable effects upon the quality of Tongan education, and should stimulate further educational reform.

These opportunities, however, will not be realised unless there is vigorous, imaginative and generous leadership. Tonga appears to be at a turning point—it can either move forward to a healthy nationhood or become a stagnant backwater of the Pacific. The dangers of such a decline cannot be ignored, even if they should not be exaggerated. The country's history reveals a great past, but the driving energy that made that past is not so very evident to-day. Boatbuilding and seamanship, which were once responsible for the subjection of central Polynesia, are now badly decayed. Other crafts still survive but can hardly be said to flourish. There are disturbing indications that the declining powers of the chiefs may lead to the passive acceptance of a

162 was under the age of twenty and over 90% were under the
621 age of fifty. This is similar to the age distribution within the national population at the time of the census
[166] of 1966. However, there was a higher percentage of persons
[871] in the 10-19 year-old group in Motulahi than in the nation at large, and this might be accounted for by the fact that it is fairly common for youngsters from the outer islands to be sent to live with family on Tongatapu so that they can attend the better schools on the main island.

The distinction between persons under or above the age of twenty is significant because in speaking of Tongan adults I refer to persons aged twenty and over. The official report on the national census speaks of adults as
[871] persons aged fifteen and over (Fiefia 1968). This is related to the fact that education is not compulsory beyond the age of fourteen. However, my view is that it is not productive to classify the fifteen-to-nineteen year-old age-category as adult. The reason for this is that there are certain important differences between 15-19 year-olds and 20-24 year-olds, that are apparent not only at the
162 national level but also in Motulahi (see Table 8). Those
621 in the younger age-category, generally, are still students,
877 even though schooling is not compulsory for them, whereas few persons over the age of nineteen are still in school.
[873] (Persons still in school after the age of nineteen are
[874] those who have stayed on in high school to prepare for

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 94]

university-entrance exams, or are those attending the Tongan Teachers' Training College.) On the other hand, as Table 9 indicates, very few Tongans are married before the age of twenty, though most are married by the time they are thirty (women usually in their early twenties and men a few years later).

Age at marriage among the population of Motulahi parallels the national picture: all but two of those under age twenty were never married. (In what follows in later chapters, these two are classed as adults for purposes of enumeration.) However, beyond determining who has never been married--which is a matter of fairly reliable public knowledge--describing the marital status of the population is difficult for the ethnographer. One can easily tell whether a man and woman are living together, but one cannot as readily know whether or not they are legally married. On the other hand, if a married couple is living apart--which they may be doing for a number of reasons (see next chapter)--one cannot rely on the veracity of what one is told about the status of the marriage. A detailed analysis of marital status, therefore, cannot be given. In the course of investigating household organization, however, I learned that it may be crucial whether or not there is a co-resident 'spouse', regardless of the legal status of the union. Accordingly, Table 10 differentiates among the adults of Motulahi according to

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 97]

49: Rogers A-4,5 (no date) 1969 0U9 Tonga 0U9



building small dwellings near the main dwelling for siblings of the opposite sex, parents, and married members of the same family.

The need to step up the rate of industrialisation is shown by the beginning of land shortages, the increase of adult "landless" men, the indirect evidence of under-employment throughout the Kingdom, and the movement of increasing numbers of rural dwellers to urban centres, especially to Nuku'alofa.

The most spectacular development in Tonga since 1956 has been the acquisition of a national shipping fleet. Before that date, two motorized sailing ketches were the principal means of inter-island transport; all fuel was imported from Fiji in 44-gallon drums. The progressive, far-sighted administration ordered the first vessel, *Aoniu* (514 tons), in 1956; it was delivered in 1958 and by 1960 it had made a gross earning of £T68,120 with net profits of £T13,970 after providing for depreciation and other running expenses. The Tongan fleet now comprises seven vessels, with the largest, *Niuvakai* (1,800 tons), plying between Sydney Australia, Japan, Fiji, and Tonga. Although great savings are now made each year on freights to and from the Kingdom, the shipping line has, however, done little to relieve the need for more jobs in Tonga. Raw materials could be transported to the Kingdom by these ships to provide employment in selected (possibly labour intensive) industries. If European and Australasian governments do not take the initiative by offering experts for this purpose it is likely that trade and aid may be forthcoming from Asia, especially from Japan.

Tonga has also shown how a state-owned industry can provide a large degree of independence for a small nation. The Tonga Copra Board and allied government agencies started with improving the quality of export copra, and now, with the aid of British finance, have launched a highly successful Coconut Replanting Scheme throughout the land. Government industries have already been discussed. Philatelic and numismatic sales are still being fully exploited by the Minister of Finance.

Nevertheless, economic growth, although spectacular for a country using mainly its own limited resources, is not fast enough to cater for the demand for wage labour. While the population continues to increase at the present rate, the need for the expansion of wage labour, either on the land or in industries, will persist.

Finally, economic expansion and industrialization is not by itself a panacea for the pressures and problems besetting this tiny island Kingdom; techniques will need to be changed, social privileges equalised, and human resources marshalled and developed, especially in the fields of education and vocational training. Education for white collar jobs carries greater prestige, but efficient production of export crops may be more lucrative for the individual.

At present, compulsory primary schooling ends at standard IV, a class reached by many children at the age of ten. Intermediate and secondary schooling is not compulsory, so if primary school pupils do not gain a place in one of the few secondary schools they repeat the last year in the primary school once or even twice. Because of this an enormous percentage

49: Rogers A-4,5 (no date) 1969 OU9 Tonga OU9

## REPORT ON THE RESULTS OF THE 1966 CENSUS

of Tongan children are leaving school with no prospects of either secondary schooling or vocational training. State schools have no likelihood of introducing vocational training under the present budget allocations and places in secondary schools are few. In 1968, a total of 2,400 pupils sat the Tonga High School (Government) examination with only 55 places available.[17] Even in secondary schools there is little education for specific careers; the 1967 Report of the Department of Education estimated that only 8% of a secondary school pupils were receiving vocational training.

The Annual Report of the Police Department for 1967 shows that the number of reported crimes had increased by 21.0% over the previous year and that 52.0% of those convicted on criminal charges were between the ages of nineteen and twenty-five. The proposed scheme to reinforce the police force and build a new jail and police headquarters will probably do little to alleviate this problem.

The United States Government has allocated an annual quota of one hundred immigrants to Tonga; this scheme is fully booked for the next three years. Small Tongan communities exist in Samoa, New Hebrides, Australia and New Zealand, but to New Zealand at least no regular emigration is permitted.

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79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9



institutions, convinced that the only thing that differentiated the white man from the others in ability and wisdom was their possession of superior knowledge. In a sermon preached from Hosea 4:6, 'My people are destroyed for lack of knowledge', King George declared:

> See what knowledge has done for the white man! See what ignorance has done for the men of this land! Is it that white men are born more wise? Is it that they are naturally more capable than others? No: but they have obtained knowledge . . . This is the principal cause of the difference. (Young 1854:443)

Schools followed conversion throughout the islands of the group in order to meet the demands of the people. The more new schools were established, the heavier the demand for teachers became. Teachers were recruited from among the ranks of local preachers, and many were ill-suited for their task. So weekly teachers' meetings were organised in order to help teachers with their work, but it soon became obvious that the only remedy lay in the establishment of an institution for training teachers.

Accordingly, the first training institution was opened at Nciafu, the capital of Vava'u, on 13 July 1841 by the Reverend Francis Wilson, who had proved himself a very able educationist. Characteristically, King George took the lead. Without the knowledge of the missionaries he had organised the erection of a building for the institution free of cost to the mission, and while at Vava'u he himself attended the institution regularly. He also gave a large piece of land for the use of the students, who had to grow their own food. Some of the students were married men with families. The majority were trained as teachers while a few were trained to be assistant missionaries.

Unfortunately Wilson died after several months of sickness in March 1846. In the following year, 1847, the General Superintendent of the Wesleyan Missions in the South Seas, the Reverend W. Lawry, arrived in Tonga with four new missionaries, Thomas Adams, George Daniel, Walter J. Davis, and Richard Amos. Amos was trained as a teacher at the Normal Institution in Glasgow,[3]

[3] The system, founded by David Stow, embodied the idea of educating 'the whole man' (Stow 1840:12).

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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and quite fittingly the educational work of the mission was entrusted to him. It was then decided to move the training institution to Nuku'alofa which King George, who was now King of the whole of Tonga, had decided to make his capital. In this new site, Amos was able to try out among his students the Glasgow training system. The missionaries believed that this system would suit the 'romantic and showy nature of the Tongans'. The King entrusted the education of his heir to Amos, and the trainees in the institution included both men and women, among whom were the Queen and the Chief Justice of Tonga, Setaleki Mumui, and his wife, who proved to be an extremely intelligent woman and an excellent teacher. A report on the visit of H.M.S. *Meander* to Tongatapu in June 1850 praised Amos's institution very highly (*W-M Mag.*, Jan. 1852:104). Later, circuit training schools were established.

The promotion of the educational work of the mission culminated in the establishment of Tupou College by Dr J. E. Moulton in 1866. Like the famous Malua College of the L.M.S. in Samoa, Tupou College was educating 'choice young men who would ultimately fill important positions both in the Church and the State' (Dyson, Papers of . . ., VI:76). With King George's approval, chiefs and commoners were treated alike in the school, and the only aristocracy recognised in it was that of educational achievement. In this way the Wesleyan missionaries, like their L.M.S. counterparts in Samoa, added to the Tongan social system a new élite of educated men and women (see Davidson 1967:37). The school produced not only outstanding ministers and teachers for the mission but also government officials and community leaders. Almost all the Premiers of Tonga since 1890 have been educated in this school. Families of commoner origin such as the Havea family[4] and the Taumaepeau family, whose founders were

[4] The first Tongan to be awarded a doctorate by any university was Dr John 'Amanaki Havea. He is at present (1972) the President of the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga. Before this, he was the Principal of the Methodist Theological College in Tonga, the first Tongan to hold that position. His father, Sione Havea, was a student of Dr Moulton. Later, he became the Head Tutor of Tupou College for many years. One of his sons, Sālesi Mānoa Havea, a distinguished lawyer and a member of Parliament, later became Minister for Police.

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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trained at Tupou College, have produced outstanding church leaders, ministers of the Crown, doctors, leading public servants and teachers, whose impact on the religious, social, economic and political development of Tonga has been extremely significant.

The improvement in the training of teachers effected corresponding improvement in the number and standard of subjects taught in the schools, as well as the efficiency of teaching. In addition to religious subjects, history, geography, arithmetic and English were taught in day schools, and philosophy, astronomy, geometry, algebra and physics were added to the syllabus of the institutions (*W-M Mag.*, Dec. 1868:1144).

Referring to Mrs Tucker's lessons in astronomy Sarah Farmer (1855:332) wrote:

> The evenings were spent in conveying to the natives, by familiar illustrations some idea of the first principles of astronomy. The lamp was made to represent the sun; a cocoa-nut the earth; some other object the moon; and as the cocoa-nut, suspended by a twisted thread, revolved round the lamp, they were taught the motions of the earth, with the cause of the change in its seasons. Lessons were also given on eclipses, gravitation, etc. Thus the views of the natives became corrected and enlarged.

Through the teaching of these subjects, the missionaries definitely went a long way towards undermining the traditional cosmology of the Tongans, by supplying scientific explanations of some of the natural phenomena which had been interpreted according to traditional beliefs. For example, the Tongans believed that earthquakes were caused by the deity Maui, who was supposed to be lying, feeble and sleepy, underneath the earth, and was at that time turning round. They immediately started their war-whoop in order to awaken him, 'lest he should get up, and in rising, overturn the world' (Farmer 1855:136-7).

The missionaries found that the majority of the Tongans did not have a flair for English. Consequently, subjects had to be taught in Tongan. This led to a proliferation of printed materials in Tongan. Books were translated, traditions and historical information collected, and many were published in the local press. When the old press went out of action, Dr Moulton managed by trial and error to set up one in the College, and trained his

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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Moulton ran into some difficulty when he tried to introduce formal music training in his college. He thought that the best way to teach music to the Tongans was to use tonic solfa. However, he soon found to his embarrassment that some of the common combinations of notes of the tonic solfa were obscene in Tongan. He then ingeniously devised a special notation, using numbers (Moulton 1921:54):

| to | lu | fa | ma | ni | o | no | tu | fi | va | a | hi | to |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3 | 3̂ | 4 | 4̂ | 5 | 6 | 6̂ | 7 | 7̂ | 8 | 8̂ | 9 | 3̇ |

The Tongans are very proud of this notation and it has really enhanced their interest in and enthusiasm for music. Hymns and classical masterpieces were transcribed into the new notation and sung by several hundred voices in each choir The College itself, naturally, took the lead and its students spread its use to the villages throughout the country.

Charles Tucker and his wife introduced some improvement in teaching methods in Ha'apai as early as 1835 by grading students according to their progress. Matthew Wilson followed this up at Hihifo in Tongatapu in the early forties and found the method very popular among his students. Further attraction was also created by the introduction of the Glasgow method by Amos towards the end of the forties, proving the missionaries right in the belief that the method would suit the Tongans.

Meanwhile the infants' or children's school developed by Mrs Wilson at Vava'u proved so successful that it soon spread to the other islands. Young boys and girls now attended and it became very popular. Annual school feasts for the examination of the infant schools were organised at least at Vava'u and Ha'apai, and prizes were awarded for outstanding achievements. These school feasts captured the imagination and interest of the entire population of the two groups and became delightful annual events for the whole community.

In Tongatapu, school examination also became a big attraction. King George himself, the Queen and some of the chiefs became patrons of various schools. In his visit to Tonga in 1850 Lawry

86: Marcus E-4,5 (1972-1975) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9



strategy of considering all arguments and making careful investigations before appointing successors to titles. Rather than trying to modify the legal process in minimizing the occurrence of succession cases, the King apparently has attempted to make formal litigation superfluous. With formal legal qualifications, the King is capable of accurately evaluating the possible legal consequences of his appointments. In sum, the unrestrained prerogative of the monarch in appointing noble titles, lost by Queen Sālote in the 1920's, has been partially recovered through the apparent, sophisticated strategy of appointment by her son and successor, Tupou IV.

*Relationships Within Noble Kin Groups*

If the ideals of *'ofa* ("love", "empathy" — See Kavaliku, 1961) and kinship amity within Tongan kin groups are as strong in practice as they are ideologically, one might wonder why questions of succession ever surfaced to public view in the form of court litigation, rather than being resolved by some informal process of dispute resolution within the kin group concerned. One answer which deserves serious consideration is that litigation was not motivated by the claimants at all in most cases, but by the few Tongan lawyers who pioneered and specialized in arguing for or against succession claims.

The indigenous lawyers form an interesting sub-group in Tongan society, numbering between 20 and 30, and typify the most successful and achievement-oriented commoners in the decades before 1960, when few Tongans had yet been abroad for training, other than secondary education.[18] The typical Tongan lawyer before the 1960's had come from a village community, usually excelled in a church or government school and/or in government service, and had passed, through self-study, a local examination given by the European Chief Justice, which qualified him to practise law. Often, the indigenous attorneys farmed their tax allotments as all other Tongans ideally did, as well as practised law. Typically, they could look forward to short or long term participation by election in the Legislative Assembly.

As the only western-styled politicians in a society with no political parties or grass-roots feeling for individual articulation of political opinion, the Tongan lawyers occupy an important position in Tongan social organization. On one hand, they court the favour of the monarch and office-holding aristocrats in order to ensure continued success in their profession, and as such they have often served as brokers or middle-men between the monarch and the mass of the population with reference to the interpretation and explanation of government and legal matters. On the other hand, the lawyers as advocates in the legal

[18] There are still very few overseas trained Tongan lawyers, and none in private practice in Tonga. The three overseas qualified lawyers in Tonga are within the government (the King, the Secretary to Government, and the Crown solicitor — there are also an expatriate Crown Prosecutor and Chief Justice). Although a number of Tongans are in legal training abroad, few will apparently complete their studies, and of this number, it is uncertain how many will return to Tonga to practice.

87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 OU9 Tonga OU9



EDUCATION. Primary education is free and compulsory to the age of 14 years, and the number of illiterate Tongans is very small. There are 73 Government Primary Schools with an enrolment of 3,016, and 40 Primary Schools controlled by the various Missions with an enrolment of 2,958. Provision is made for the secondary education of boys by the Government and the Free Wesleyan Church and Roman Catholic Church, and for that of girls by these two Missions only. In recent years arrangements have been made by the Government for the training of medical students at the Central Medical School, Fiji, and also for higher education on scholarships in Australia.

RELIGION. Government statistics (1931) show the following :— Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga 16,711 ; Free Church of Tonga 4,679 ; Church of Tonga 2,771 ; Roman Catholic Church 3,340 ; Church of England 311 ; Latter Day Saints 728 ; Seventh Day Adventists 232.

## THE GOVERNMENT OF TONGA, LAW COURTS, ETC.

As defined by the Constitution of 1875, Tonga is a limited monarchy following the English system, and the government consists of (1) The Sovereign and the Privy Council, (2) The Cabinet, (3) The Parliament (Legislative Assembly).

THE PRIVY COUNCIL advises the Sovereign on affairs of State and makes ordinances in the interval between Parliaments ; these ordinances become laws if the following Parliament confirms them. Another very important duty of the Privy Council is that of preparing the Estimates of Revenue and Expenditure for the following year. Using the information supplied by the various Departments, the Privy Council calculates how much money it expects to receive from taxation, etc., and how much money may be spent in each Department in the following year. Having drawn up these Estimates, the Privy Council sends them to the Consul who has the right of veto over the expenditure of the Tonga Government, and, finally, they are sent to Parliament for approval. At present the members of the Privy Council are :—The Sovereign (President), the Speaker of Parliament (Vice-President), the Premier, the Minister of Lands, the Minister of Police, the Governors of Vava'u and Ha'abai, and two European members, the Chief Justice and the Treasurer. Members of the Privy Council are appointed by the Sovereign.

THE CABINET consists of the members of the Privy Council, except the Sovereign and the Speaker of Parliament. The Premier is the chairman of the Cabinet, which is really a committee of the Parliament to control the property of the Government, to make appointments to the Public Service, and to transact such matters as deciding the terms on which leases of land may be granted.

PARLIAMENT meets each year about the end of June, its session lasting about one month. Its members are :—The Speaker and members of the Cabinet, seven nobles elected by the 33 nobles of the Kingdom, and seven representatives elected by male taxpayers 21 years and over. Three of these representatives are elected by Togatabu and the two Niuas, two by Ha'abai, and two by Vava'u, and the seven nobles represent the nobles of those districts in the same proportion. Each section of the

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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and he "succumbed to the corrupting influence of power". The L.M.S. historian, Norman Goodall, added — 797

> "He provides a pathological exception — with, perhaps, a warning — to the general run of missionaries".(5)

The early Wesleyan missionaries did not regard piety and learning as opposed to each other. Their diaries, regularly kept according to instructions from headquarters, reveal more than their self-examination and spiritual trials. They give evidence of the missionaries' self-discipline and the extent of their reading and continued studies, some in Latin, Greek and Hebrew. They maintained these studies in an enervating climate and under conditions which often were most depressing.

The civilizing benefits of Christianity and the introduction of useful occupations to their converts were stressed to a greater extent by the L.M.S. missionaries than the Wesleyans. Nevertheless, the "work-ethic" was always upheld. The indolent habits of the people were condemned, excessively, we may say today.

Education was not regarded primarily as part of the civilizing process but as an agent in evangelism. It was necessary for converts to be able to read the Bible. Only much later did any doubts arise about whether the Missions should devote so much of their energies to academic education. The early missionaries believed that education developed powers of moral discrimination; they said they were training a people in whom conscience seemed lacking. Even in the 20th Century the Missions have generally advocated keeping education in their hands as a weapon for combating secularism and a means of developing the type of character expected of practising Christians.

Through mission education, Tongans, Fijians and Samoans became literate when there was still much illiteracy in Victorian England; secondary education, even to a very limited extent, was being given when comparatively few adolescents in England were receiving it; and girls were gaining a good education under mission auspices when there were not many girls' schools in England.(6) Furthermore, vocational and agricultural training was gradually introduced to enable the islanders to build and preserve their society under new conditions of contact with the outside world.

Education tended to become competitive, especially with the coming of new missionary societies which set up their own schools. The cost of maintaining a complete educational system for a whole community became too burdensome for any mission; and, therefore, governments assumed more responsibility for education. Government grants-in-aid or subsidies helped to make mission schools viable but, in the more sophisticated countries, these subsidies were reduced. Where there was a large non-Christian element, notably in Fiji with its Indian community, the government share in education was correspondingly increased. On the other hand, the policy of the Wesleyan Church in Tonga was exceptional: that Church maintained a complete educational system, and (to the present time) has done this without any government subsidy whatever.

Medical work was only a minor part of the early Pacific Islands missionaries' ministrations, but it was an expression of Chrisitan compassion. "The Christian ethic of healing" stood out in contrast to many callous practices in a non-Christian society. It is true that recovery from sickness after the missionaries' prayers and

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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[1839 - 1847]

Latuselu was at once appointed to take charge of Niua Toputapu. Faupula and Latu were ordained at a later date. 797

Much responsibility devolved upon the ordained Tongan ministers, or Native Assistant Missionaries (N.A.M.) as they were officially termed. The success of the Mission also largely depended on the work of the pastor-teachers in the villages and the catechists who were the seniors among them and from whom the ordained ministers were chosen after further training. As in other Mission fields these men bore the brunt of the ongoing work at the local level. In preaching they were assisted by local preachers of whom there was never any dearth, such was the eagerness of Tongans to speak in public, to pray, and to lead the worship of congregations.

A vital part of the Mission's work of consolidation was educational. From the outset the Mission's primary object in establishing schools was to enable people to read the Scriptures. In 1839 there were 9,544 scholars in the Mission schools, "all taught gratuitously" as John Thomas noted.[19] The limited syllabus was academic. John Waterhouse, in his visit as General Superintendent in 1841, had the foresight to recognize the need for practical training suitable for the Tongans' needs, but many years passed before his vision was even partially realized. 797 872

Waterhouse in 1841 had also strongly urged that more should be done in preparing men for the ministry. His policy was put into effect at once by the establishment of the training institution at Vava'u with Francis Wilson. The District Meeting decided to call it "The Friendly Islands Wesleyan Academy for the training of Native Assistant Missionaries".[20] 797 874

The nine students in this "Academy" grew to fifteen in 1844. Care had to be taken not to hurt the feelings of the old teachers; the new ones on graduating were not entitled "Assistant Missionaries" but only "teachers". English was attempted but soon given up, as all but two found it too difficult. One of these was the Fijian, John Faupula, who became an ornament to the ministry. Faupula had been the first convert in Lakeba, baptized there by David Cargill, but compelled to leave Fiji because of the opposition of his faither, Tui Nayau, chief of the Lau islands. He became a stalwart leader and the first in a distinguished family of ministers. [191]

Taufa'ahau was interested in the new training venture at Neiafu. He ordered a large party of men to erect the building, and this structure was actually built, of native materials, in one day. Wilson wanted desks and benches, and these were promptly made from bush timbers; the students did not sit on the floor as in the primary schools. He also wanted books and writing paper, not slates. Useful material was found in the simple text-books, in such subjects as geography, which had been written by the wife of Charles Tucker before her exertions undermined her health and led to her return with her husband and family in 1841. 797 874 346

In 1847 Waterhouse's successor, Lawry, brought the new mission vessel, *John Wesley*, 250 tons, as a replacement for the notorious ship *Triton*, which had been slow, and often leaked badly, and was generally full of cockroaches. There now began, not only a new era in mission transport but also in the system and standard of education in Tonga. With Lawry came Richard Amos, who continued and expanded the work of Francis Wilson. 797

In his school at Nuku'alofa, Amos conducted classes for catechists and future candidates for the ministry as well as primary school classes. In his lessons for 797 874

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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catechists and preachers he used theological lectures prepared by the saintly John Hunt who died in Fiji in 1848. Amos's institution became a model also in its appearance; the homes of the married students were set in trim gardens and connected with well-kept paths. His students worked four hours each day in their food-gardens on the block of 20 acres set apart for them.

On his second visit in 1850, Lawry held an examination day for all the Tongatapu schools. It was a great festival indeed. Lawry stood on Zion Hill and was overwhelmed with emotion as he thought of the conditions that he found in 1822-3 and as he now saw the approaching lines of schools from the different villages, accompanied by their choirs:

> "The processions emerged from the luxuriant groves of evergreens and shade, and ascended the Chapel Hill, with measured step and slow pace, singing their 'songs of degrees' (psalms of ascents), the females taking their part and the men theirs, all joining in full chorus." (21)

So successful was the work of Amos in Nuku'alofa that other schools on his model were set up. Still designated "Superintendent of Schools", Amos was appointed to Vava'u. The Ha'apai Circuit in 1850 gave a glowing account of its schools; it referred particularly to Queen Salote (Lupe Pau'u), then resident in Lifuka:

> "She not merely attends as a teacher, but tries to improve herself and, although an elderly lady, yet she makes constant improvement in reading, writing and arithmetic." (22)

Much depended upon the influence of the chiefs in the various districts, and reports showed that in some cases schools lapsed altogether because of the apathy of the elders and their failure to encourage the children to attend. The imposition of civil penalties (e.g., fines) sometimes helped. Schools for adults gradually ceased.

King George had strongly supported Amos's work at Nuku'alofa and this school continued to flourish after Amos removed to Vava'u.(23) The sermon most often quoted on the subject of education was given by the king in Fiji on his way to Sydney in 1853. The text was Hosea iv. 6, "My people are destroyed for lack of knowledge". In his sermon he declared that the Europeans had the advantage over Tongans, not in physical but in intellectual equipment, and their fundamental strength lay in the Bible, the source of true knowledge. The king's words set the goal for the future Tupou College.

The king in that sermon expressed what all Tongan converts believed; Christianity was the religion of a Book. The Anglican divine, William Chillingworth, may have exaggerated the case when he said in 1638, "The Bible and the Bible alone is the religion of Protestants", but every Protestant missionary considered it essential that the translated Scriptures should be in the hands of converts as soon as possible. The Roman Catholic priests in the Pacific had some justification for calling the Protestants "the Biblical missionaries". The pioneers, Nathaniel Turner and his colleagues, knew the importance of not only the Scriptures, but the catechism, hymns, and a simple liturgy for the people's use. The 1841 District Meeting, under John Waterhouse, set up a Translation Committee. The Meeting decided to "avoid as far as possible the introduction of foreign words" and also recommended that a specially qualified missionary be added to the staff for translating,

> "as the missionaries in Tonga do not profess a critical knowledge of the original tongues". (24)

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So much attention afterwards was given to Moulton as an educator that his outstanding ability as a biblical scholar and translator tended to be overlooked. He was masterly in scriptural exegesis according to the best scholarship of his day. He quickly became an expert in the Tongan language and eventually re-translated the whole Bible from the original tongues, giving a classical Tongan rendering. His brother, Professor R. G. Moulton, considered that he did for Tongan what Dante did for Mediaeval Italian, "preparing the raw Italian to be a vehicle of the poetry that was coming".[41] His only fault as translator came from being pedantic, choosing some words and phrases that even then were passing out of use. Perhaps an even greater bequest to the Tongan people were his inspiring hymns. These were distinguished by their literary beauty, their deeply spiritual content, and their faithfulness to Tongan thought and imagery. E. E. Crosby, a young colleague well acquainted with the language, said of Moulton's hymns, "In his hymns his translations surpassed the original as John Wesley's translations from the German are said to do". These hymns showed a startling superiority to the feeble and repetitive hymns of the early missionaries.

Moulton was an accomplished musician. Some of his hymns were set to the popular Sankey tunes of the day, but many of the tunes were of stately quality. Also, Moulton taught his College choir anthems from Handel and other great composers. He had to manufacture a special tonic sol-fa to do this, substituting numerals for the sounds "do-re-mi" &c. which, he quickly found, included vulgarities in Tongan.

In 1899 he was honoured with the degree of Doctor of Divinity by the Victoria University, Toronto, through the nomination of his brother, after the exhibition of some of his work at the Chicago Exposition. It is as "Dr. Moulton" that he is remembered in Tonga.

Physically, he was impressive, with his leonine head and beard, and his commanding presence. There was a flamboyant side to his nature that appealed to the Tongan love of display. Intellectually, he was a giant. It was pitiful that a man of his stature should have become embroiled in squalid quarrels with Shirley Baker, who soon became jealous of his success and finally used his influence with the king to destroy, at least temporarily, Moulton's lifework. Fortunately, his solid achievements are recognized today in the Church and the land to which his genius was dedicated.

Moulton made his plans for the formal opening of Tupou College in February 1866. The Minutes of the Australasian Conference showed the title "Native Training Institution" and "District Training Institution" alongside Moulton's name for the years 1865-8, and the name "Tupou College" did not appear in the Minutes until 1869. From the outset, however, Moulton was determined that it should be a "College". Outsiders smiled at such a name for an island school; no other school in the Pacific had been so called. George Tupou sanctioned the use of his royal name for the College. Among the first students was Wellington Ngu, the king's grandson; incidentally, Moulton required, and the king agreed, that the prince should observe all the rules and enjoy no special privileges.

Moulton had special aims as well as a distinctive curriculum for his College. He sought to prepare the most promising pupils for positions in the Government and the Church. The College was not a formal theological institution as Francis Wilson's "Academy" had been in Vava'u in 1841 nor did it follow the model of Richard Amos, who combined a course of theological studies with his general

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[ca. 1866 - 1873]

teaching. At Tupou College biblical exegesis and doctrines and church history were taught, but only as a minor part of a wide general curriculum. The emphasis on preparing students for Government positions and the absence of a separate theological section brought criticisms from some of Moulton's colleagues. J. B. Watkin wrote to Stephen Rabone, now Missionary Secretary, on 13 December 1874:

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> "I must say that, had I known that the College would have become what it is, I should have opposed it with all my might. I do not consider that the fruit brought forth is at all commensurate with the expense incurred; practically the College is almost useless. . . . We have attempted what we cannot possibly maintain. My opinion is that an institution like that of the late Mr. Amos's would have been far more useful than the present affair." (42)

It became clear that Moulton wanted to control the College as though it was virtually independent of the District Meeting. He claimed freedom to enrol students for Government positions, with a bonus from the Government for their expenses. He held services for the College separately from the Zion congregation. His expenditure called forth criticism from his colleagues. One of them, Henry Greenwood, wrote to Rabone (10 August 1872):

> "Mr. Moulton has spent hundreds of pounds on the College, under the plea that permission was granted by the deputation [= Rabone and Watkin in 1869] and all we had to do was to pass the balance sheet when the money has been expended . . . Hundreds of pounds have been expended without the consent of the District Meeting or the Committee in Sydney. . . .
>
> "Though a large amount of money was given by the friends in Australia with the idea that the College was for the training of Native Assistant Missionaries the fruit of all these years in that particular is one catechist." (43)

The Missionary Committee in Sydney, on 7 April 1873, received, and evidently endorsed, a recommendation from the Tonga District Meeting:

> "In the opinion of the Meeting it is exceedingly desirable that the training of native ministers should be kept prominently before the conductors (sic) of Tupou College." (44)

It was regrettable that such a unique educational project as Tupou College should be affected by disputes among the missionaries, a recurring skirmish for which Moulton's obstinacy was partly responsible. Greenwood reported,

> "Ever since the commencement of the College it has been a source of dissension between Mr. Moulton and the brethren." (45)

Moulton's ambitions were seen in his curriculum. The teaching of English was attempted but given up as proving too difficult (especially when the students had little opportunity of practice with a very small European population). Even Latin and French were tried but quickly discarded as unsuitable. In general, Moulton followed a syllabus approximating to one generally used in the English public schools of the day. He stressed mathematics, in which he himself excelled and for which he believed Tongans were well adapted, though educators since his time have not always agreed with that opinion. The syllabus included geography (of the formal type then in vogue), history (especially ancient history), astronomy, physics and chemistry, which gave students illustrations for sermons and addresses rather than strictly scientific training. It was amazing that this indefatigable teacher wrote all his text-books in Tongan and also printed them on a printing press which he had ingeniously acquired.

Criticisms were launched against Moulton's educational schemes as too academic and beyond the Tongans' needs, and also against his methods of stimulating ambition, especially by the use of gowns and trenchers for "graduates".

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[1866-1874]



In Moulton's view it was the only "University" Tongans were likely to know in the 19th Century and, therefore, University-type insignia were warranted. When Sir Arthur Gordon, Governor of Fiji, visited Tonga in 1878, while Moulton was in England on translation work, he was greeted at Tupou College by David Tonga, who had been the first pupil, first dux, and was acting headmaster during Moulton's absence. Gordon wrote,

> "At Tupou College, the principal, a native elaborately got up in clerical and academical costume, mortar-board and all, received me." (46)

An honour-board system was a stimulus for the students. A series of these boards, from 1866 to the present, carefully treasured, had a great influence on the progress of Tupou College. At the Centenary the names of these men and women were read for hours to a hushed assembly of several thousands in the open air. In his later years Moulton instituted a system of post-graduate lessons, to foster continued keenness. Whatever criticisms may be made against the gowns &c., there is no doubt that Moulton instilled a love of learning in many of the Tongans, and he produced men of ability and marked spirituality who became outstanding leaders in Church and Government. Taken altogether, Moulton's work at Tupou College fully merited the praise and popularity he received.

It is not surprising that Moulton met disappointments also. All was not well with the morals of some students, and Baker was not alone in pointing this out. In 1873 Moulton's own report read:

> "The number of backsliders is far greater than we anticipated; so far it has been chiefly amongst the Government students, and the licentiousness of the youths of rank is incorrigible. This is a circumstance that causes us the deepest concern and bodes ill for the future of Tonga." (47)

Moulton found it necessary to expel such "incorrigible" students.

The king was most gratified with the progress of the College. In 1870 he gave a scholarship worth £200, tenable for two years. In 1873 the first organ in Tonga was installed at the College. It was, naturally, in the pre-secession days that the enrolment was larger, the interest more intense, and the atmosphere free from the feuding that followed the foundation of a rival college in 1882 and a rival Church in 1885.

Lorimer Fison, M.A. (Cambridge), Wesleyan missionary from Fiji, visited Tonga in November 1874 and brought a pre-conceived disbelief in the suitability of a "College" transplanted into the Central Pacific. Writing to *Sydney Morning Herald*, on 21 June 1875, he described his inspection of Moulton's classes. He acknowledged his prejudice; he stated that he had heard that the curriculum made students conceited but he concluded that this happened only with the less worthy lads. He tested (of course, through translation) the work done in mathematics, geography &c., and noted that the College possessed a telescope and meteorological equipment. He was amazed when Moulton's college choir sang Handel's "Dettingen Te Deum" and Mozart's "Gloria". Altogether, Fison not only withdrew his disbelief but added that Moulton's genius should have "a wider and more important field" than Tonga. He was justified in this opinion of a brilliant man who remained in this small field, heading for ignominious quarrels and crushing defeats.

Whenever Baker visited Australia he praised Moulton's work at Tupou College, as H. C. Oldmeadow heard him do while he was on furlough.(48) The College was held up before Australian audiences as crowning evidence of progress

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[1869-1880]

in the Mission. Baker adopted a very different attitude when he returned to Tonga. His jealousy had been aroused as early as 1869 by the praise given by the deputation, Rabone and Watkin: they spoke of the College as a "positive wonder" and Moulton as "an encyclopaedia of accomplishment". They had noted that the students were "all dressed in European attire" and gave evidence of success with chemistry, surveying, and translating from Homer into Tongan hexameters! (49)

Baker began his disastrous policy of inflated fund-raising to please the Committee in Sydney and also as a counter-balance to the popularity of Moulton with the Committee. Moulton complained that Baker was discouraging enrolments as well as criticizing the College's usefulness.(50) It became apparent that Baker wished to get rid of such a talented rival as Moulton; this was shown in his letter to Chapman, Missionary Secretary (5 July 1872):

> "As things are the College is a nuisance and the sooner either Mr. Moulton goes or changes the better, or else let the College go for it is a hindrance to our work and only causing unpleasantness." (51)

Later, on 16 July 1874, Baker wrote to Chapman, stating that three ministers such as J. B. Watkin, together with a lay headmaster for Tupou College, would meet all the needs of the Mission and the College.(52) This clear indication of Baker's obstructive policy was given before the increased tension of following years, and before 1877 when he was glad to see Moulton depart to England for three years to revise the Tongan New Testament.

On the other hand, Moulton was at fault in acting as no head of a Church school should have done. Whatever his feelings about Baker's antipathy towards him and the College, he was not justified in his determination to keep the College free from the control of the District Meeting. His practice of expending money at the College and expecting almost automatic acceptance by the District Meeting had irked his brethren who drew up regulations on both College expenditure and discipline in December 1871. Moulton heatedly resigned and only withdrew on condition that the College be removed to Pangaimotu, an island about three miles from Nuku'alofa, where he could be relieved from the presence of his critical brethren. He wrote to Chapman (21 May 1872):

> "The prospect of removing the College was started in consequence of a resolution proposed by Mr. Baker and accepted by the majority which took the spiritual oversight of the College out of my hands and vested it in the Nuku'alofa minister. I immediately resigned and put it to them whether any brother would accept charge under such conditions. It was to obviate the necessity of my resignation that the removal was proposed. . . . I don't think that I am unreasonable, but I cannot accept the decision of the District Meeting." (53)

(W. T. Rabone, missionary, son of Stephen Rabone, wrote to his father that he had voted with Moulton but he deplored the quarrelling, 8 May 1872.) (54) When the king heard of the proposal to remove the College to Pangaimotu he wrote a protest to the Missionary Committee in Sydney. Rather than offend the king, the Committee supported Moulton and censured Baker. If Baker from that time onwards was Moulton's sworn foe, he had some excuse.

This was the background to the personal rivalry that brought dire penalties to both College and Mission. The last evidence of Moulton's policy of College independence was his leaving David Tonga in charge while he was absent in England, 1877-80, with instructions not to allow interference with College administration. Before this happened David and his wife, Rachel, had been sent

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by the District Meeting to Sydney for one year's experience, especially in English. Moulton, writing to Chapman, on 3 May 1877, on the eve of his departure, said:

> "If left to itself the College would stand and prosper under the headmastership of David. Alas, that *IF*!" (33) (34)

There seems truth in Baker's charge that Moulton was forming a College party within the Church.(37) Moulton was in fact creating an intellectual elite. This was dangerous in a country where families quarrelled so readily; there now arose an elitist quarrel which could, and did, lead finally to a religious division which split Tonga asunder. This was in addition to the ambition, jealousy and factiousness within the Mission staff. The evidence points to an element of defiance on Moulton's part which a man less bellicose than Baker would not readily overlook.

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**Footnotes:**

(1) W.P.H.C. Inward Correspondence, general, No. 287 of 1891; Scarr, D., *Fragments of Empire*, p.4.
(2) *M.N.*, 1854, p.754.
(3) Pritchard, W. T., *Polynesian Reminiscences*, p.233; Derrick, R. A., *A History of Fiji*, p.143.
(4) Eggleston to Davis, 20 September 1863. Catalogue 33. M.O.M.C.
(5) Pritchard, ibid, p.289; Derrick, ibid, p.151.
(6) Davis to Eggleston, 10 June 1862. Item 170, Pt. 1. M.O.M.C.
(7) Thomas, J., *Journal*. Item 46. F.M. 1433-39. M.L.S.
(8) Thomas, ibid. Item 46.
(9) I am indebted to the Rev. E. W. Hames, Auckland, for the correspondence between Lawry and the Secretaries in London; see also Hames, E. W., *Walter Lawry and the Wesleyan Mission in the South Seas*, pp.35-6.
(10) Thomas, J., *Journal*. Microfilm 46. F.M. 1433-39. M.L.S.
(11) Tonga District Meeting *Minutes*, 1849. B.668. M.L.S.
(12) Rabone, S., *Journal*, 22 July 1847. Set 47. M.O.M.C.
(13) Thomas, J., *Journal*. Microfilm 44. F.M. 1433-39. M.L.S.
(14) Thomas, ibid.
(15) Thomas, ibid, 19 November 1849.
(16) Thomas, ibid. Microfilm 44. F.M. 1433-39. M.L.S.
(17) Thomas, ibid. Microfilm 46.
(18) Thomas, ibid. Microfilm 46.
(19) Thomas, ibid. Microfilm 45.
(20) Thomas, ibid, May 1877. M.L.S.
(21) Stephinson, W. G. R., *Journal*. A.N.U.
(22) "Free Church" was the popular name for the Church set up in 1885 with the official title, "The Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga". In this history the short name, "Free Church", is used in references to it before 1924. The full legal name is used after re-union in 1924.
(23) Thomson, Basil, *Diversions of a Prime Minister*, p.222.
(24) Cummins, H. G., *Sources of Tongan History*, pp.135-47, for advice given by Charles St. Julian.
(25) Davis to Chapman. Item 170, Pt. 1. M.O.M.C.
(26) Eggleston, J., *Journal*, September 1862.
(27) Firth, F. to Eggleston, 21 February and 24 March 1862. Item 170. M.O.M.C.
(28) Thomas, *Journal*. Microfilm 44. F.M. 1433-39. M.L.S.
(29) Stephinson, W. G. R., *Journal*. A.N.U.
(30) Davis to Eggleston, 27 April 1863. Item 170. M.O.M.C.
(31) Eggleston to Davis. Item 169. M.O.M.C.
(32) Eggleston to Davis. Item 33. M.O.M.C.
(33) Eggleston to Davis, 7 July 1863.
(34) Adams to Rabone, 16 June 1863. Uncat. set 197. Item 2. M.O.M.C.
(35) Whewell to Eggleston. Item 170. M.O.M.C.
(36) Eggleston to Davis, 20 September 1862. Catalogue 33. M.O.M.C.
(37) *Reports*. F.W.C.
(38) Amos to Eggleston, 27 February 1857. Item 170, Pt. 2. M.O.M.C.; *M.N.*, 1857.
(39) Adams to Eggleston, 8 February 1859. Item 170. Pt. 2. M.O.M.C.
(40) Baker to Eggleston. Catalogue 101. M.O.M.C.

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(41) Moulton, J. E., *Moulton of Tonga*, p.11.
(42) Watkin to Rabone. Item 170. M.O.M.C.
(43) Greenwood to Rabone. Item 170. M.O.M.C.
(44) Missionary Committee Minutes. Sydney. M.O.M.C.
(45) Greenwood to Rabone. 10 August 1872; 25 April 1873. Item 170. M.O.M.C.
(46) Gordon, Sir Arthur, *Public and Private Life*, Vol. III, p.105.
(47) Tonga District Meeting *Minutes*, 1873. F.W.C.
(48) Oldmeadow, H. C., *Journal*, May 1878.
(49) *M.N.*, July/October 1869, p.148; *M.N.*, 1870, 1872.
(50) Moulton to Chapman, 21 May 1872, 13 July 1872, 2 June 1873. Cat. 99. M.O.M.C.
(51) Baker to Chapman, 5 July 1872. Catalogue 101. M.O.M.C.
(52) Baker to Chapman, 16 July 1874. Catalogue 101. M.O.M.C.
(53) Moulton to Chapman. Catalogue 99. M.O.M.C.
(54) Rabone, W. T. to Rabone, S. Item 170. M.O.M.C.
(55) Moulton to Chapman. Catalogue 99. M.O.M.C.
(56) Strange to say, Baker told Chapman that, during Moulton's absence in England, he himself was teaching theology, physiology and chemistry at the College, and two of his children were teaching singing and English. (11 July 1878. Catalogue 101. M.O.M.C.) [797] [873] [874]
(57) Baker to Chapman. Set 197, Item 2, 12 February 1877, alleging that Moulton had "made parties. College versus Church".

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[1874-1885]

The possibility of the Mission relinquishing the primary schools had been ventilated previously. The letter of 24 March 1874, from the king and chiefs, had asked for the Church primary schools to be handed over to the Government. The Tonga District Meeting, with Baker in the chair, dealt with this request on 30 November 1874, and decided

> "that the day schools connected with the Mission be maintained efficiently until adequate provision is made by the Government for primary education . . . The best plan for many years yet will be a denominational system." (27)

Immediately following upon this, the Mission Board, on 3 January 1875, had resolved to maintain efficiently all its day schools in Tonga "until adequate provision is made by the Government for primary education". Now that Baker had taken action to acquire the Church schools, without notice, the Mission Board, on 31 August 1881, reiterated its belief that

> "the time has not arrived when the Church schools can, with advantage to the people of Tonga, be relinquished." (28)

Compensation was promised, but never paid, for the land and school buildings.

In Sydney, in 1878, when Oldmeadow was on furlough, he had heard Baker speak eulogistically about the Church day schools and Tupou College. After Baker took over the schools in 1881, he met Oldmeadow in Vava'u. Oldmeadow expressed disagreement with his action. Baker contended that he was following the example of the Australian colonies which had set up a secular educational system. Oldmeadow argued, as other missionaries had done, that the circumstances in a recently-evangelized country such as Tonga were quite different from those in Australia. Following this conversation, Oldmeadow wrote in his journal:

> "I have taken a great deal of pains to discover his [Baker's] object, and I am bound to confess that the conclusion I have been obliged to come to is that it must be simply spite and greed of power — spite against the Conference by which he was forced to retire from the ministry as they would not allow him to be both virtual Premier and missionary in one, and spite against an individual in particular who in connection with Tupou College had had so much to do with the success which had been achieved in the matter of education. . . .
>
> "For a long time I fought against the conviction, but after long and careful watching I am obliged to adopt it that it was an act of vindictiveness, knowing that the irritation caused would be severe against the individual in question [i.e., Moulton], and a desire to lessen the influence of the Church on the one hand and increase his own on the other. And how has it succeeded!" (29)

The Government college began in 1882, with Mr. J. W. Roberts as Principal. Baker had known Roberts in his youthful days at Castlemaine, Victoria. He was a skilful teacher and a Methodist local preacher. Among other things Roberts introduced a system of Pitman shorthand in Tongan. It was decreed that Government positions in future would be given only to those trained in the Government College, a thrust against Tupou College which had prepared men for both Government and Church offices since 1866. At first the Government College students attended the Wesleyan services in Zion Church but, because of the presence of Tupou College students and the growing ill-feeling between the two parties, Roberts kept his lads at the Government College and conducted services for them there. After the secession in 1885 the Government College trained men who became pastors in the Free Church. This was one of many evidences of Government support for the Free Church.

Against mounting odds Moulton continued his teaching, hymn-writing, and church administration. He had practical problems also. During a storm one

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suddenly of a heart attack. His great-great-grandfather was Fatu with whom Walter Lawry stayed in 1822-3. His great-grandfather was 'Ulakai, the first convert of the two Tahitian teachers in 1826. In Church and State Tungi stood loyally beside the Queen with sound advice and unwavering integrity. He was beloved of his people in the Mu'a district, being generous in his allocation of land. Always a leader among old students of Tupou College, he was honoured by them in the erection of the Tungi Mailefihi Memorial Building at Toloa in 1957.

Before the war, Tupou College had grown to 400 students and Queen Salote College to 170, all being boarders. In 1947 the boys were removed from Nafualu to Toloa, near Fua'amotu, 14 miles south-east of Nuku'alofa, for the sake of more gardening land; the enrolment grew to 700 in post-war years. Day girls were admitted to Queen Salote College until the number grew to 750; this school has an outstanding reputation for both academic and domestic training, as well as participation in national dances on important occasions. In 1949 middle schools were formed in various centres; this avoided overcrowding at the Colleges and improved the standards in Ha'apai, Vava'u and other places. The financial burden on the Church continued to grow heavier, even though, for instance, the head teacher in a Church school had only the same salary as a beginner on a Government school staff. The women of the Church in Australia gave some help, for example, with the building of the dormitory for 200 girls at Siu'ilikutapu College in Vava'u.

After the removal of Tupou College to Toloa, the property at Nafualu was used, from 1948 onwards, as a combined Theological College and Bible College, the latter for church stewards who were virtually assistant pastors in smaller villages. The Queen gave it a new name, Sia'atoutai, the place where nets are prepared for fishing. From 30 the number grew in 1970 to 126, with six young women training as deaconesses. The Rev. R. A. W. Woodgate was most successful in preparing students for the L.Th. examinations in 1951-61. By 1961 seven had gained the L.Th. at Sia'atoutai. After 1965 all L.Th. subjects were taught by Tongan teachers.

As the long-delayed project of building the Centenary Church finally developed, it was necessary to remove the building erected by the old Free Church in 1888. Accommodating 800, it was an excellent example of Tongan architecture. The large roof and supports were moved as one unit, mounted on two motor-trucks and 24 carts, with hundreds of willing helpers. What seemed the impossible feat of transporting this heavy structure intact more than 300 yards was accomplished in the presence of the Queen.

The new concrete church took almost three years to erect. It is 184 feet by 70 feet, with an imposing clock-tower, the largest church in the South Pacific, seating over 2,000. The architect was Mr. W. C. Brown and the foreman of works, Mr. R. L. Pearson, both of Sydney; the Tongan foreman was Amini Fonua. Much of the work was done voluntarily by church people. The actual cost was £40,000. On 27 September 1952 it was opened by the Queen and dedicated by the visiting ex-President-General, Dr. H. G. Secomb.

On the whole, the Free Wesleyan Church may well feel that it has benefited greatly from royal approval and encouragement. The Queen was always wholeheartedly involved in the faith and witness of the Church at every level. This was much more important than the exercise of her constitutional prerogative of approving the election of the President of Conference each year. Whether the

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[1951-1972]

In June 1968, the centenary of Tupou College was observed; it had been postponed from 1966 because of the Queen's death, the period of mourning, and the coronation celebrations. There were 10,000 present at the final service at Toloa, the present location of the College. Another feature was the singing of Handel's oratorio "The Messiah" by a massed choir of 2,000, formed by village choirs from all districts, at the Centenary Church, Nuku'alofa. The entire oratorio was sung from memory and with great eclat.

The development of practical teaching in agriculture and in animal husbandry at Tupou College has made it almost self-supporting. A new science block and a technical wing have enlarged the usefulness of the College; these were supported by "The Methodist Million" fund in Australia and the benevolence of the late Lord Rank in England. The new Hango Agricultural College on the island of 'Eua, opened by the king in 1969, with a property of 420 acres, is designed to emulate the success of Navuso, the Methodist Agricultural School in Fiji. The value of Tupou High School, established in 1963 for higher academic studies, was seen when in 1965 the first of its students qualified to matriculate at Melbourne University; this was the first case of matriculation from a school in Tonga.

The contribution of the Churches to secondary education is revealed by the fact that over 50% of the secondary school students in Tonga are now being educated by the Free Wesleyan Church, about 40% by other Churches, and only 10% in Government secondary schools. In 1972 the Free Wesleyan Church had 2,990 students in six colleges, 2,000 in twenty-one middle schools, 3,999 in 29 primary schools. Other Churches have expanded their educational facilities; the Mormon College was developed with an expenditure of $4,000,000 in five years and has reached an enrolment of 1,200 co-educational pupils.

An encouraging instance of better inter-church relationships is the friendliness with the Roman Catholic Church. This has been inspired by the world-wide influence of the late Pope John XXIII. Agreement was reached regarding a new translation of the Bible. A noted missionary-linguist, the late Dr. Maxwell Churchward, who produced, first, a new Grammar and Dictionary for the Government, revised the New Testament between 1951 and 1961. In August 1962 the two Churches agreed to accept this and to revise the Old Testament also. The Roman Catholic Church asked for only four words to be spelt according to its custom (Jesus, Mary, Joseph, and grace). Dr. John 'Amanaki Havea was commissioned in 1965 to conduct the whole revision. So amicable is the relationship between the two Churches that in 1972 a choir of 1,000 Free Wesleyans took part in the service of consecrating a Tongan priest to be the first Tongan-born Roman Catholic bishop. The Tongan Council of Churches, established in 1973 (under the auspices of the World Council of Churches), consists of the Free Wesleyan Church, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Church of England. The Free Church and the Church of Tonga have not become members of the Council of Churches.

The Church has felt itself fortunate in the quality of overseas ministers and teachers who have served in Tonga in this century. A full list appears in the appendix. Special reference is made to the following:—

Ernest E. V. Collocott, M.A., B.D., Litt.D., served in Ha'apai, and also as Principal of Tupou College, beginning the new section at Nafualu with English as the medium. His published works in Tongan history and anthropology were accepted in the Bishop Museum, Honolulu, and other learned societies.

/39 cont./

657 four medical dispensers ("pharmacists," "dispensers" /cited in English),
744 one white nurse, approximately 25 Tongan nurses /40/ and a Tongan assis-
759 tant staff. Of the Tongans active in health service the medical and
[874] dental practitioners are trained in the Central Medical School /cited in English/ in Fiji, the rest are trained in the Archipelago.
657 The personnel working in the health service are used primarily in the
744 Nuku'alofa Hospital on Tongatapu, secondarily in the Neiafu Hospital on
743 the island of Vava'u that lies about 300 miles farther north, thirdly
759 in the auxiliary hospital on Lifuka which lies approximately between these two islands. In two villages on Tongatapu, as well as on four other islands there are "pharmacies," "dispensaries" /cited in English/ that are served by Tongan assistant doctors or medical dispensers who also take over the treatment of the simpler cases. Moreover, on Tongatapu a motorized infant welfare service has begun operations.

744 The Tongans working in health service are quite intelligent and
657 capable natives, and in general have the good will to carry out in-
759 creasingly more and better work. However, in accordance with their
743 un-European mentality (their entirely different conception of life and
199 work), they find it difficult to carry out this European system perfectly enough so that it has the complete effectiveness which we in Europe take for granted. (87)

87. For example, in none of the hospitals is there as yet any cooking done for the patients. Since food preparation is left to the relatives, no proper diet can be carried out. In the main hospitals, too, the Tongan physicians find it difficult, as the present writer experienced, to give the prescribed shots and medicines regularly. The dispensary on Nomuka has for years been threatening to collapse; through the broken windows and the dilapidated corrugated iron roof rain showers fall on the rusted

/239 cont./

463 tailor (seamstress) and hair-stylist are occupations carried on only in the administrative and business centers of Nuku'alofa (Tongatapu), Pangai (Lifuka) and Neiafu (Vava'u); the rest are represented on the small islands of the Archipelago. Many members of these professions also own plantations and cultivate them as far as they are able.

463 In the skilled trades there is no systematic instruction even
868 today. The young Tongan who is interested in a certain activity takes part in the work wherever he feels he can learn something, until he feels confident enough to carry out the work independently and his /competence is/ acknowledged by the community. Natives of the smaller islands who wish to become carpenters, for instance, prefer to go to the chief towns of the Archipelago to perfect their skill. (638)

638. The carpenter and blacksmith Vilingia on Nomuka, for example, even traveled to Fiji where he received systematic training.

463 Clergymen, teachers and physicians are given systematic training, the
874 two former in special seminaries on the main island (more seldom in Australia or New Zealand), the latter at the Central Medical School /cited in English/ in Fiji. Employees in the administration are also systematically trained if it seems necessary (for instance, telegraph service).

463 Whereas in ancient Tonga the performance of duty towards the
183 chiefs was implicit in the idea of a vocation, a present-day vocation
178 carries with it the idea of achievement for the benefit of the doer himself and for all strata of the population. The person who practices a profession is no longer directly dependent on the
463 nobility. In place of work that was acknowledged through gifts or was
465 unrewarded, there is now payment for most professional activity. All
178 Tongans in the service of the government receive fixed salaries

/276 cont./

873 students are admitted on the basis of elementary school examinations. The cost of such school attendance is quite low and is mostly borne by the parents.

[177] [178] These colleges are also run on the English system but, in keeping with Tongan needs, this is somewhat changed and less academic; there is /277/ practical training included (for example, agriculture [partly with machines] and animal husbandry [pigs, cows and dairy operation], cabinet making. The subjects taught are about the same as in the elementary schools, but the contents are of course correspondingly more difficult, and the boys are also given some basic knowledge of natural science and technology (simple mechanics). Teaching is done partly [191] in the Tongan language, partly in English. The colleges apparently do not have a high standard; they correspond more or less to the English [875] intermediate schools. Teaching is done by white and Tongan male and female teachers.

In the Tonga High School (Matriculation School) /cited in English/, which opened in 1947 in Nuku'alofa/Tongatapu, European and selected Tongan male and female students are trained up to university level.

This school is organized on the model of the New Zealand District High School /cited in English/. In 1950 (755)

755. See Report of the Department of Education...p. 3.

42 white and 39 Tongan male and female students were taught here. The [875] teaching body consists of a white "headmaster" /cited in English/ and [191] three white "assistants" /cited in English/. Teaching is done in the English language.

874 In addition there is a vocational school in which young Tongans (over 18) are taught in subjects such as typing, bookkeeping and shorthand; after two years they take an examination and can obtain a positon [875] in government service. Only white teachers teach in this school. In 1950 (756)

/277 cont./

874 756. See Report of the Department of Education...p. 4.

28 Tongans were trained here.

874 In 1944 there was also an educational center founded in the Archi-
875 pelago for male and female Tongan teachers: the Teachers' Training College /cited in English/.

Here those natives are trained who are to teach in the elementary schools of the government and the churches. Before that, they attended an elementary school and a college and took a final examination. Their training at the Teachers' Training College lasts two years and is conducted by whites and a few Tongans; in addition they must do practice teaching for a year as assistant teachers in selected schools. In 1951 (757)

757. See Colonial Office, Report on Tonga for the Years 1950 and 1951 /cited in English/ p. 14.

45 natives were studying at this institution.

873 For more than 20 years the Tongans have also gone abroad to study;
1777 their education is financed chiefly by scholarships.

Thus in the year 1951 (758)

758. See Colonial Office, Report on Tongan for the Years 1950 and 1951. p. 14.

two Tongans studied at Catton Agricultural College in Queensland/Australia, one at the Auckland University College (New Zealand) and one at Otago University (New Zealand), while three were trained at the Central Medical School in Suva (Fiji). Some Tongan children also (thanks to the intitiative of their parents or relatives) visit "secondary schools" /cited in English/ in New Zealand and Australia.

871 /278/ The Tongan educational system is under the supervision of the
645 Department of Education of the Tongan government. Crown Prince and Premier Tungi, who himself studied in Sydney, is the Minister of Education, and under him is a white "Director of Education" /cited in English/.

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9



Considering the urban characteristics set forth by the South Pacific Commission as being applicable to the Pacific islands, it becomes apparent that the cities of Pangai, Neiafu, and Nuku'alofa can be defined as being urban centers. In the case of Mu'a, though larger than Pangai in terms of population, the lack of such urban characteristics as government, commerce, and economics eliminates it from urban classification, under the South Pacific Commission's definition.

Other population groupings of significance include church training facilities and schools. The most important of these are Salote College and Toloa Methodist Training College, sponsored by the Wesleyan Methodist organization, and Liahona High School, sponsored by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. Each of these include several hundred students and staff, many of whom live in housing provided by the respective schools.

Other groupings to be considered within this classification are the training camp for the Tongan defense force and the police training facility, both on Tongatupa. The population of these two facilities, though largely transient, must be recognized.

The historical growth of Tongan population can only be estimated through calculation of approximate numbers supported by approximate tillable acreage. Therefore, figures representing the population prior to the first census (1921) reflect educated guesses supported at times by missionary estimates and head counts (Walsh 1970, p. 31). In addition, none of the censuses prior to 1956 can be considered to be entirely reliable. Mc rthur stated that

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu



ing the Multiplication Table they accompanied themselves by clapping their hands in time to the words, throwing the arms from side to side, all calling out at the same time at the top of their voices, and seeming to enjoy the whole affair amazingly. An old chief of considerable influence, named Shadrack, sat with the missionaries at the head of the school, and whenever the crowd outside talked too loud he commanded silence.

After this examination was over we visited another school, for the instruction of native teachers, which consisted of about twenty persons in all, principally chiefs and their wives. When we entered the school-room they were all standing up round the sides of the apartment, reading aloud. They were taught English, arithmetic, geography, writing, &c. After the reading and cipher-ing exercises were over, they sat down in two rows before a frame containing a set of large maps. These were drawn down, one after another, the natives repeating the names of the places, with particulars respecting them, as they were severally touched by the missionary. Captain Keppel then desired them to point out various places which he named. Spain, being the first, was immediately pointed out by a chief, Shadrack Moomie, Judge of the Island and a son of the late king. The end of the rod was then shifted slightly over, so as to rest upon Portugal, which Shadrack immediately named; and being asked to point out some islands in the Mediterranean which were mentioned, he did so readily. Being desired to show the track which should be taken by the Meander, for England, he at once traced it correctly. The rest of the pupils appeared equally intelligent. Several of the wives of these chiefs were present, and were treated by the men with marked attention, being seated in the foremost places. The missionaries call this "the native training institution," or school for educating native teachers. At the time of our visit there were twenty-four natives under this kind of instruction—eight being from the island of Vavau, six from Haabai, and ten belonging to Tongatabu. Besides these there are twelve female students, eight of whom are wives of the native teachers: there was also a chief from Feejee.

The two school-rooms, together with the houses of the native teachers, are built within a fence enclosing about 20 acres of ground, which was given for the purpose by King George. It is cultivated as a garden by the teachers residing upon it; and a broad walk, bordered with pine-apple plants and bananas, runs along its whole length, and on each side are the cottages of the teachers, with neatly kept paths leading to them from the main walk.

After attending the examinations, Mr. Thompson, the chaplain of the Meander, and myself, went upon an exploring stroll round the